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ABSTRACT

It is proposed that a European variety of English without native speakers is emerging as a language of international communication in Europe. This is a consequence of many factors, including the strength of the American economy, the breadth and depth of American research in science and technology, the pervasive influence of American-style popular music, mass tourism, and foreign language policies pursued by European education authorities. The European version of English is functioning as a lingua franca for native speakers of other languages to communicate with each other, as a second, not foreign, language. The users of this new European variety will choose it over standard British English because of their varied needs, cultural diversity, differing ethnic identities, and the process of economic and social integration in the European Community. Characteristics of European English include diminished distinctions between adjectives and adverbs, absence of mass/count distinction (e.g., much/many), enlargement of the range of existential "there" structures, absence of the inflections "-er" and "-est" (e.g., "more clear, most rich"), adjustments in the use of clausal and sentential connectives (e.g., "however, therefore"), shifts in use of the present perfect tense, and lexical changes due to absorption from other European languages or from technological advancement. (MSE)

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TRENDS IN EUROPEAN ENGLISH[1]

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SUMMARY

This discussion paper focusses on the emergence of a European variety of English as a language of interstate communication. Factors such as communication needs, culture and identity are considered, as are the likely impact of moves towards European integration, and the potential consequences for teaching and training.

KEY WORDS: **EUROPEAN ENGLISH, COMMUNICATION NEEDS, CULTURE, IDENTITY, EUROPEAN INTEGRATION.**

INTRODUCTION

In 1978, Peter Strevens argued that

> "The native speaker of English must accept that English is no longer his possession alone: it belongs to the world, and new forms of English, born of new countries with new communicative needs, should be accepted into the marvellously flexible and adaptable galaxy of 'Englishes' which constitutes the English language." (Strevens 1978)

Strevens was writing principally for teachers of English who for the greater part would have been teaching outside Britain, with perhaps the majority of them in Africa or Asia. Ten years later, Sir Richard Francis, director-general of the British Council, was addressing an audience consisting largely of native speakers in London:

> "We have to recognise that English is no longer solely the possession of its native speakers, even less of the British people, for all that it remains in a special sense 'our' language." (Francis 1988)

The time difference gives some indication of the time lag inherent in the absorption of ideas and concepts about the language of a specific community, especially when those ideas and concepts originate from outside the specific community and when they may seem to be anathema to that community.

That English is a world language is undisputed - almost certainly more non-native speakers use it regularly for communicative purposes than native speakers. The circumstances in which the non-native speakers use it may very well be quite different from those in which native speakers use it, and yet 'the native speaker' still has a tendency to consider it his or her sole right to judge the appropriacy and correctness of the language. It is as though

the native speaker suspends or ignores any pragmatic considerations in making judgements.

An analogy may be made to the captain of an oil tanker and a yachtsman: the electronic wizardry and the navigational skills that the captain needs to negotiate the passage of the tanker from the oil production platform to the refinery site are quite inappropriate for the yachtsman sailing on the Lake Geneva! The skills, techniques and tactics are just as different as the two settings. In the same way, the English required by native speakers for their communicative purposes may be quite different from that required by non-native speakers functioning in the European setting.

There is a strong case to be argued that, in the Europe of the last two decades of the 20th century, we are witnessing the emergence of a new variety of English, one which is international and which lacks speakers who speak it as a mother tongue .. yet.

There are many conditions which need to be satisfied for one of the European languages to attain the position of 'lingua franca': English is following in the wake of Latin, French, and to some extent German, insofar as Eastern Europe is concerned. There is, however, at least one very important difference. The evolution of Latin, French and German to lingua francas stemmed from the political, military and economic might of a European power: the evolution of English as a European lingua franca stems from the power of countries outside Europe, notably the USA, and the global role of English as a language for international communication.

At the height of British power in the 19th century, English linguistic imperialism was focussed elsewhere, notably on Africa and the Indian subcontinent. It may be argued, then, that the role of English in Europe today has very little to do with the relative power of Britain - indeed I may suggest that it has very much to do with the relative lack of power of Britain, in that it reduces somewhat the potential charges of linguistic imperialism that may be levelled against Britain and her role in Europe today. (German will certainly increase in importance in the coming decade, but for historical reasons Germany itself may not be able to avoid such charges. Cf. Wilkinson, forthcoming.)

The rise of English to the status of a language of interstate communication in Europe is a consequence of many factors, such as the strength of the American economy, the breadth and depth of American research in science and technology (notably perhaps in microelectronics), the all pervasive power of American-style pop music, mass tourism, and the subsequent foreign language policies pursued by European education authorities, who, consciously or not, have permitted generations of schoolleavers to complete their full-time

education equipped with at least basic competence in English. To some extent, the authorities have only been bowing to demand, a demand which has been exacerbated by the linguistic insularity of the USA and, of course, Britain.

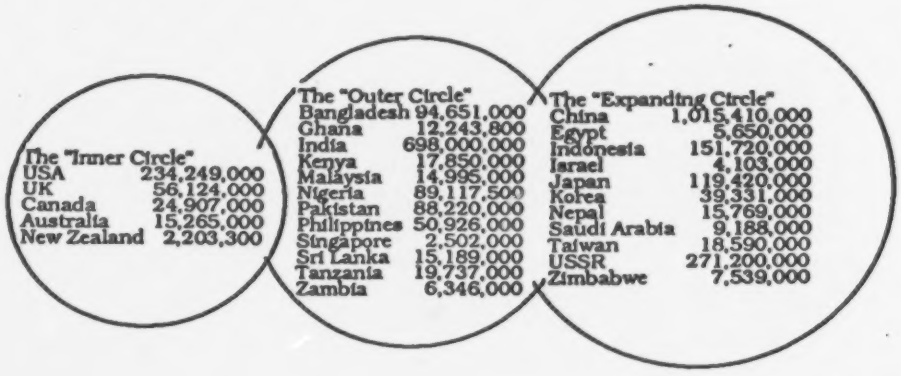
If a European variety of English is emerging, then it must be possible to identify it and define the ways in which it may be distinguished from other varieties. Implicit in this argument is the exclusion of British native varieties of English in the nascent European English. Essentially, the European variety is functioning as a lingua franca to enable speakers of other languages to communicate with each other, without the need for either party to acquire or cede dominance in the communicative setting by using one or other of the mother tongues. European English, then, is functioning as a second language, and no longer as a foreign language.

The distinctions between second language and foreign language are somewhat blurred. In Britain, the USA and Australia for example, the concept of "English as a Second Language" is used inappropriately to define the English needed and acquired by speakers of other languages in order that they may function in the English-speaking environment and society. In countries such as Nigeria, India, Kenya, etc., "English as a Second Language" refers to the role and usage of English as a kind of unifying force in those countries, enabling speakers of different mother tongues to communicate with each other. Elsewhere, especially in countries with a single predominant language, it is traditional to speak of "English as a Foreign Language": English does not fulfil a major communicative role in the everyday life of those countries.

The three groups mentioned above may be seen to correspond to what Braj Kachru has called the three concentric circles of English: the Inner Circle, the Outer (or Extended) Circle, and the Expanding Circle, respectively (Kachru 1985, 1988) (Figure 1).

Figure 1

INNER CIRCLE, OUTER CIRCLE, EXPANDING CIRCLE
Kachru 1985 - table from Kachru 1988



Nevertheless, in these days of mass international trade and commerce, tourism and communication, it is more and more difficult to maintain these cosy distinctions. English in Europe is increasingly the language through which contact across cultures, across state and language boundaries, takes place. The gradual harmonization of national economies within the EC encourages even greater contact, such that almost all economic activities depend to a greater or lesser extent on activities in the other countries of Europe. (Perhaps it may soon be inappropriate to talk of the "countries of Europe" as though they were autonomous, sovereign or independent.) In Kachru's terms, it may be that, individually, the countries of Europe, excluding Britain and Ireland, belong to the Expanding Circle, but Europe, at least as far as the EC is concerned, would seem to have moved into the Outer Circle.

The English taught in European Schools and Universities has for centuries focussed on British English (only relatively recently has American English been seen as acceptable). Much of the education has been concerned with the objective of producing educated young people with a knowledge of British English, British culture and traditions, and so on, perhaps with the view that these people would need the language, etc., to communicate with British native speakers, especially if they should go to Britain (as is often the hope of the teachers): thus, the aim has been oriented towards the British native speaker. Equally, most of the language support provided by Britain, eg. via the British Council, has been similarly culturally biassed, quite naturally. What seems to have been largely neglected is the rise in non-native speaker - non-native speaker (NNS-NNS) communication in English. Some recognition of this development, which has been taking place over the last two decades in particular, can now be seen in some teaching materials, especially listening materials, where the participants are sometimes all non-native speakers. It is this very pragmatic area of English usage which requires acknowledgement today.

If, at this stage, I may attempt to define what I mean by European English:

DEFINITION OF EUROPEAN ENGLISH

EUROPEAN ENGLISH REFERS TO THE EXTENT OF CONVERGENCE THAT OBTAINS BETWEEN THE FUNCTIONALLY ADEQUATE VARIETIES OF ENGLISH EXISTING IN THE VARIOUS EUROPEAN LANGUAGE COMMUNITIES, WHICH PERMITS SOPHISTICATED COMMUNICATION BETWEEN THE MEMBERS OF THESE COMMUNITIES WITHOUT NECESSARILY REQUIRING THE APPLICATION OF THE SAME RULES OF SYNTAX, MORPHOLOGY, PHONOLOGY, SEMANTICS, DISCOURSE, ETC., THAT NATIVE SPEAKERS OF ENGLISH WOULD USE.

The definition is vague, and open to many questions: of necessity it is tentative. The principal assumption behind it is that the English that is used in communication between the Germans, the French, the Italians, the Greeks, etc., will be different from that used by the British or the Irish: equally satisfactory and adequate communication can be accomplished using this convergent variety of English as could be achieved using standard British English. The question arises here as to why an alternative, some will say functionally restricted variety of English should be used when standard English would do just as well. Why should the participants not aim to use the standard language?

The answers may be found in a number of factors which themselves are jointly influencing the emergence of European English. This paper will focus on four of them: **communication needs, culture, identity,** and **EC integration.**

COMMUNICATION NEEDS

Most learners of languages wish to learn them for certain reasons, often for purposes of communication. Once those needs are fulfilled, learners will have little incentive to pursue their learning any further: the learners have reached a certain plateau and this is where they stop. Their language does not match that of the assumed target - the native speaker: the so-called 'deviant' forms remain and in Larry Selinker's terms become "fossilized" (Selinker 1972). Language learners may even regress, especially if their communicative needs can be fulfilled by a lower plateau of language ability - one may call this "de-learning" or "unlearning".

In the field of Languages for Specific Purposes (LSP), the needs of the learner are seen as paramount, implying that both the learner and the teacher should be 'constantly aware' (Robinson 1980) of these needs (eg. by not introducing irrelevant materials) and that the course should be 'learner-centred' (compare with Hutchinson and Waters' 1987 argument in favour of 'learning-centred' English for Specific Purposes). Essentially in LSP, learners are learning in order to "perform a role" (Robinson 1980), and their criterion of success is whether they can satisfactorily accomplish the tasks relevant to that role in the relevant language. It is very common for 'needs analyses', often in the form of questionnaires, to be conducted prior to or at the beginning of LSP courses. Whether these analyses uncover the needs accurately enough is debatable, but it is not a concern for this paper now. What is clear, however, is that, where a long-term perspective is required as to the needs of the learner (such as is 'required' in most formal full-time school or university education), uncovering the needs of the

learner can only be accomplished in a generalised way, from secondary data, as it were: 'needs' will be based on those of other people, not the current learners themselves. Thus, the perceived needs, as viewed by the learners, may differ widely from those seen by the language training establishment. As a result, considerable wastage may occur, and the learner's end proficiency in the language may be well below that specified by the syllabus/curriculum, if indeed a level is specified at all. After all, in schools and to a large extent in undergraduate studies at university, we are concerned not with learner needs, but with societal and political needs. Language planners in ministries of education may very well present accurate outlines of what the society needs, they may indeed offer ever-widening opportunities and choices to the young learners, but it would often appear to be the case that the learners do not recognise the opportunities and choices until much later on, due partly to their lack of experience in the world of work and living. What they perceive as their needs in language learning is likely to reflect what is of most value to them at the time, and the conception of perceived value is liable to fluctuate: it is, therefore, not surprising that the factor 'communication needs' has an enormous influence on the degree of proficiency attained by the language learners, and consequently, with respect to English, is liable to facilitate the emergence of an agreed convergent variety in Europe.

CULTURE

The second important factor is culture: a broad term which requires careful definition. This paper follows the line of thinking advanced in the work of Geert Hofstede who has defined culture as "the collective programming of the mind which distinguishes the members of one human group from another" (Hofstede 1980).

Central to the concept of culture are "values", which govern the "programming of the mind" are deep-seated "broad, nonspecific feelings of good and evil, beautiful and ugly, normal and abnormal, rational and irrational", and changing them is "extremely difficult, if not impossible" (Hofstede et al 1988; cf. Spangenberg 1989). "Attitudes", on the other hand, are more specific, and generally related to particular 'tasks' at hand; attitudes consequently are more amenable to change than values. (Most definitions of attitudes refer to a predisposition towards 'something', eg. that of Kretch, Crutchfield and Ballachy (1962): "attitudes are enduring systems of positive or negative evaluations, emotional feelings, and pro or con action techniques <u>with respect to social objects</u>" [my emphasis].)

To explain the relevance of culture as a resistance filter to language learning, it is worth concentrating in more detail on Geert Hofstede's work, since it is of considerable relevance here (cf. Riley 1988). Hofstede has undertaken an important research study in a major multinational on differences in work-related values across 50 countries and 3 regions (Hofstede 1980, 1983), leading to a four-dimensional model of cultural differences. It is not appropriate here to go into the intricate details of the studies, but it is important to stress that Hofstede's work seeks to compare cultural dimensions at national (country) level (thus, not on an individual level) on a quantitative basis. The four dimensions Hofstede identified, **individualism versus collectivism**, **power distance**, **uncertainty avoidance**, and **masculinity versus femininity**, have been shown to correlate significantly with 40 other quantitative studies of values, thus providing strong ground for the validity of the research. Table 1 describes these four dimensions.

Table 1

THE FOUR DIMENSIONS OF CULTURE

(Hofstede 1980 - quotes from Hofstede 1986)

INDIVIDUALISM versus COLLECTIVISM

"Individualist cultures assume that any person looks primarily after his/her own interest and the interest of his/her immediate family. ... Collectivist cultures assume that any person through birth and possible later events belongs to one or more tight 'in-groups', from which he/she cannot detach him/herself. .. A collectivist society is tightly integrated; an individualist society is loosely integrated."

POWER DISTANCE

This characteristic "defines the extent to which the less powerful persons in a society accept inequality in power and consider it as normal. Inequality exists within any culture, but the degree to which it is tolerated varies between one culture and another".

UNCERTAINTY AVOIDANCE

This characteristic "defines the extent to which people within a culture are made nervous by situations which they perceive as unstructured, unclear, or unpredictable, situations which they therefore try to avoid by maintaining strict codes of behaviour and a belief in absolute truths. Cultures with a strong uncertainty avoidance are active, aggressive, emotional, compulsive, security-seeking, and intolerant; cultures with a weak uncertainty avoidance are contemplative, less aggressive, unemotional, relaxed, accepting personal risks, and relatively tolerant".

MASCULINITY versus FEMININITY

This opposition is related to the division of social roles between the sexes, and "in particular .. the social role attributed to men". Masculine cultures "strive for maximal distinction between what men are expected to do and what women are expected to do. They expect men to be assertive, ambitious, and competitive, to strive for material success ... They expect women to serve and care for the non-material quality of life, for children and for the weak. Feminine cultures, on the other hand, define distinctly overlapping social roles for the sexes, in which, in particular, men need not be ambitious or competitive but may go for a different quality of life than material success."

Figures 2 and 3 (and Table 2) (from Hofstede 1986) show country scores on the four dimensions. The apparent statistical association between Power Distance and Individualism/Collectivism is due to the fact that both Power Distance and Individualism correlate with national wealth (a correlation of .82 for individualism - Hofstede 1983). If national wealth is controlled for, the correlation between Power Distance and Individualism/Collectivism disappears.

Figure 2

POWER DISTANCE X INDIVIDUALISM-COLLECTIVISM

(Hofstede 1986)

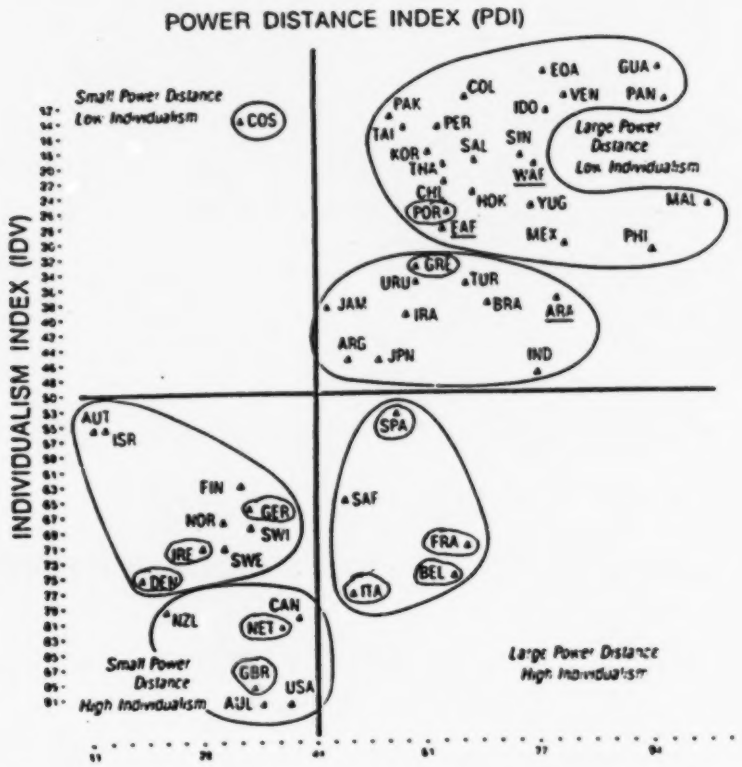


FIGURE 1. A power distance x individualism—collectivism plot for 50 countries & 3 regions.

Table 2

Country Abbreviations

ARA Arab countries (Egypt, Lebanon, Lybia, Kuwait, Iraq, Saudi-Arabia, U.A.E.)	GER Germany	PER Peru
ARG Argentina	GRE Greece	PHI Philippines
AUL Australia	GUA Guatemala	POR Portugal
AUT Austria	HOK Hong Kong	SAF South Africa
BEL Belgium	IDO Indonesia	SAL Salvador
BRA Brazil	IND India	SIN Singapore
CAN Canada	IRA Iran	SPA Spain
CHL Chile	IRE Ireland	SWE Sweden
COL Colombia	ISR Israel	SWI Switzerland
COS Costa Rica	ITA Italy	TAI Taiwan
DEN Denmark	JAM Jamaica	THA Thailand
EAF East Africa (Kenya, Ethiopia, Zambia)	JPN Japan	TUR Turkey
ECA Equador	KOR South Korea	URU Uruguay
FIN Finland	MAL Malaysia	USA United States
FRA France	MEX Mexico	VEN Venezuela
GBR Great Britain	NET Netherlands	WAF West Africa (Nigeria, Ghana, Sierra Leone)
	NOR Norway	YUG Yugoslavia
	NZL New Zealand	
	PAK Pakistan	
	PAN Panama	

Figure 3

MASCULINITY-FEMININITY X UNCERTAINTY AVOIDANCE

(Hofstede 1986)

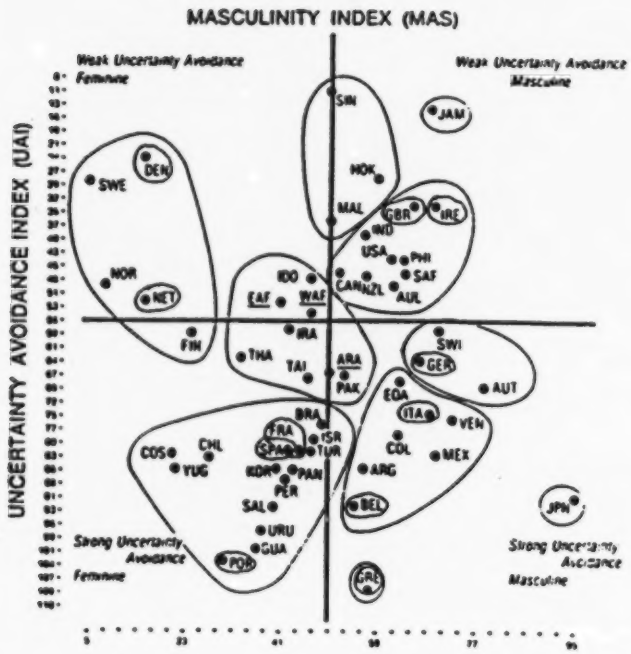


FIGURE 2. A masculinity-femininity x uncertainty avoidance plot *for 50 countries & 3 regions.*

What is clear from the two figures is that there is a vast difference in the values existing at the basis of culture at the national level. If one considers the differences in the eleven members of the EC analyzed in the study (encircled in Figures 2 and 3), it thus becomes quite improbable that the nations of the EC would ever become subsumed in a single cultural identity. Equally unlikely is the situation where English would be used throughout the Community as a Second Language at a level equivalent to native speaker English, for the latter carries with it its own culture. As Hofstede (1986) remarks, "Language categorizes reality according to its corresponding culture". The strong suspicion is that the cultural diversity in Europe will inevitably lead to the English used as a lingua franca becoming "indigenized" in Jack Richards' (1978) terms, by which he refers to "the evolution of distinct varieties of English as a result of the widespread use of English in new social and cultural contexts" (p104). Cultural diversity, then, is certain to be a major factor in the emergence of European English.

IDENTITY

The third factor, identity, is of course not strictly separable from culture, but whereas the discussion above considered culture at the national level, identity focusses on the individual.

For the non-native speaker, to acquire full native speaker equivalent competence in English would be tantamount to the acquisition of a new identity: some non-native speakers aspire to this, a few even achieve it, but if they do, it probably has its costs. 'There is no such thing as a free meal!' The price such aspirers have to pay is the abandonment or rejection of their own native identity, at least to a certain extent. Many immigrants may well fall into this category, but the vast majority of learners of English have no wish to reject, even partially, their own identity. Some, moreover, may well view the native varieties of English (especially British or American) with suspicion as exemplifiers of imperialism, colonialism, etc.

It has been noted that identity as a phenomenon is not well-established in second language research, but it is nevertheless an important consideration. A recent survey article by Jane Zuengler (1989) discusses the three forms of identity that have been subject to research in second language acquisition: **ethnic identity**, **gender**, and **occupation**, of which by far the greatest emphasis has been on ethnicity. Various studies have shown that, perhaps not surprisingly, language learners' language tends to show more deviance away from the standard norm when learners are communicating with someone from their own ethnic group or when they believe the person they are talking to empathises

with their ethnic group, although some studies suggest that shared characteristics such as occupation, education, or gender may override shared ethnicity. This, naturally, is an important consideration when viewing the variety of English that would be used in intra-European communication, especially when English native speakers are not present.

Zuengler too reports two studies that have analyzed second language speaker's identity with respect to the topic of conversation: that is, the extent to which the SL speaker classes him or herself as a 'relative expert' in the field under discussion. Selinker and Douglas's (1985) study seems to suggest that many features of the language of second language learners can vary according to whether they view themselves as 'experts'. Zuengler's own study (1987) found similar results, suggesting that SL speakers showed distinctly more conversational ability when they saw themselves as 'experts' relative to their interlocutors than when the positions were reversed. Both studies concentrate on discourse (communication) strategies, rather than phonological and syntactic usage. What these studies imply is that, in the European context, the variety of English used in intra-European communication is likely to show more 'deviance' from the standard (typically British English) norm when the speakers are relative 'experts' in the field. The studies mentioned refer only to communication between native speaker and non-native speaker. When the participants in the communication are all non-native speakers, it is likely that the 'deviance' will be even greater[2].

Thus far, the discussion has touched upon some of the factors which influence English language learning in Europe and which are likely to hasten the emergence of a European variety distinct in certain ways from standard British English. There is, of course, a seemingly greater factor too: the moves towards integration in Europe.

INTEGRATION PROCESS IN THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY

Whatever one thinks of matters such as national sovereignty, the European Community is already a very powerful economic trading block, and this power and the influence that goes

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[2]The term 'deviance', which implies 'deviance' from a target model, is being used in the sense of Braj Kachru's definition: "... (deviation) is different from the norm in the sense that it is the result of the new 'un-English' linguistic and cultural setting in which the English language is used; it is the result of a productive process which marks the typical variety-specific features; it is systematic within a variety, and not idiosyncratic." (Kachru 1982:45).

with it will increase as the Single Market gradually comes into effect. The EC is already being seen as a single entity by its trading partners: it conducts trade negotiations as a block with the likes of the USA and Japan, who in turn are being impelled into the creation of regional blocks (the North American block [Canada, USA, Mexico]; and the East Asian block [Japan, South Korea, Hong Kong, Taiwan, and to a lesser extent the ASEAN nations]). This is leading to the establishment of what Kenichi Ohmae calls 'triad power' (Ohmae 1985). This de facto western European unity has already provoked Austria to apply for admission to the EC, and both Norway and Iceland to rethink their policies towards the Community. In view of the EC policy not to favour any one national language at the expense of the others, the costs of translation and interpreting can only continue to rise. At some point governments may be unwilling to fund such continual increases, and indeed it may occur that one or more languages will predominate, as is the case in the European Court where French is the primary language: decisions are published first in French, and if there is a difference over the interpretation of a decision between, say, the German and the French versions, it will be the French version that is held to be correct.

Thus, in the multilingual arena of the European Community, nine official languages, while not officially competing, do in fact enter into collision. This very collision of languages is likely to produce a great deal of exchange of expressions (note how Community Law, largely based on civil law, is influencing English common law).

Consequently EC integration may be expected to be a major factor of influence in the emergence of European English.

CHARACTERISTICS OF EUROPEAN ENGLISH

At this stage, it is worth speculating on some of the characteristics that potentially may become acceptable in European English. Elsewhere (Wilkinson 1989; Sebbage 1989), some of the tendencies in this direction have been discussed.

Table 3 summarises a selection of the commonest deviations a group of Dutch students of International Management make relative to standard British English. The discrepancies listed may all be seen as unacceptable in standard British English: some certainly would not be unacceptable in other varieties, though. For example, it is relatively common in present-day informal spoken American English for speakers not to distinguish between adjectives and the adverbial form ending in -ly; that is, the adverbial -ly inflection would

seem to be becoming less common in American English. This is indeed a likely development in European English: for Dutch speakers, their native language will provide positive transfer as Dutch does not distinguish between the adjectival and adverbial forms.

There are a number of other aspects which may possibly become acceptable in a European variety of English, such as

(1) the absence of the mass/count distinction ("**less cars**", "**less people**", "**much more studies**", etc.),

(2) the enlargement of the range of existential 'there' structures ("**there is mentioned in this book a number of challenging theories**", "**In this essay there will be described adhocracy, machine bureaucracy, and professional bureaucracy**", etc.),

(3) the absence of the inflections "**-er**", "**-est**", in single and double syllabic adjectives ("**more clear**", "**most rich**", etc.) - a feature already common in informal spoken British English,

(4) adjustments in the use of clausal and sentential connectives (words like "**therefore**", "**however**", and so on may shift from purely sentential connectives to become poly-functional as both clausal and sentential connectives),

and quite likely more.

It is also possible that the use of the present perfect will shift somewhat, thus making acceptable sentences like "**I have completed the project yesterday**", or "**He is working in Holland for six years**", etc. Even more likely is the acceptance of "**will**" and "**would**" in conditional clauses.

Equally important are lexical changes: the English of Europe is likely to absorb many words from the other languages of Europe, especially those that describe "things", or "products" or "services" that become increasingly transnational as the integration of Europe proceeds.

However, by far the greatest spur to lexical change in European English is likely to be brought about by technological change and centralized EC legislation. In this respect, there may well be few differences between the English of Britain and that of Europe. But what might occur to European English should there be monetary union and a single European Central Bank? What might happen if there were

a central European stock market in, say, Frankfurt? The effects of centralized European institutions will be felt, in time, in the very language we use, a tendency likely to be reinforced in the European variety of English if Britain continues to pursue what appears to be a narrow nationalistic approach towards European unity.

TABLE 3: SELECTED COMMON PROBLEMS IN THE ENGLISH OF DUTCH STUDENTS OF INTERNATIONAL MANAGEMENT.

1. Aspects of number:	(a)	S-V concord
	(b)	mass/count distinctions
	(c)	Det-N concord
	(d)	sing-plur. confusion
2. Aspects of syntax:	(a)	past/pres.perf./pres. confusion
	(b)	certain modal verbs (eg. can/may, must/should)
	(c)	gerund/participle/infinitive structures
	(d)	existential 'there'
	(e)	adverbial phrase placement
3. Aspects of word category selection:		
	(a)	preposition confusion
	(b)	adj/adv. confusion *
	(c)	comparative/superlative *
	(d)	clausal/sentential (rhetorical) connectives
4. Aspects of morphology:		
	(a)	avoidance of inflections * (adverbial **-ly**; adjectival **-er**, **-est**)
5. Aspects of cross-language influence:		
	(a)	use of 'will/would' in conditional clauses
	(b)	use of 'what' in relative clauses; 'that' in non-defining relative clauses
	(c)	use of 'where/how' instead of 'what' in certain questions
	(d)	verb in 2nd position after non-S in 1st position

* = dual categorization. (Wilkinson 1989)

CONCLUSION

There is a peculiar ambiguity in the role of English language teachers that is likely to lead to increased uncertainty as to their task. While being providers for the future, teachers are essentially purveyors of the past; that is, with respect to language acquisition, their role is largely one of trying to create an environment in which language acquisition can take place, and of acting as monitor who matches learner production to the socioculturally accepted norms of a standard language, norms which necessarily must have been established a number of years earlier.

The question arises as to what extent the teacher ought to encourage an awareness of the changes taking place in European English: should he or she adhere to the precepts laid down in largely ethnocentric guides to grammar and usage produced in Britain, or should an attempt be made to confront learners with the current usage in Europe?

Gerhard Nickel (1985) has suggested that greater tolerance should be given to certain European accents in English (eg. the typical German or French accents in English), at least at a less advanced level. "Why not accept these varieties instead of sometimes wasting immense amounts of time on doing away with features most difficult to get rid of from an interferential point of view?" (1985:154).

At present, though, teachers may have little alternative but to present learners with the model of standard English, (usually British in Europe), but it may be most useful, when planning placement abroad, to take into serious consideration the possibility of sending students, trainees, etc., for at least part of the time to centres not in Britain, but elsewhere in Europe, particularly to countries or regions whose mother tongue they are unfamiliar with: English there is likely to be the main language of communication. Such a placement may not greatly enhance the students' English relative to British English norms, but it may vastly increase the students' awareness and competence in the use of English as a language of international communication in providing access to the richness of other cultures in Europe.

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